LETTERS

ON THE

COLONIZATION SOCIETY;

WITH A VIEW OF

ITS PROBABLE RESULTS,

UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADS:

The Origin of the Society; Increase of the Coloured Population; Manumission of Slaves in this country;

DECLARATIONS OF LEGISLATURES, AND OTHER ASSEMBLED BODIES IN FAVOUR OF THE SOCIETY;

Situation of the Colonists at Monrovia and other towns; Moral and Religious Character of the Settlers; Soil, Climate, Productions, and Commerce of Liberia;

ADVANTAGES

TO

THE FREE COLOURED POPULATION,

BY

EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA;

Character of the Natives of Africa, before the irruptions of the Barbarians; Effects of Colonization on the Slave Trade, with a slight sketch of that nefarious and accursed traffic.

ADDRESSED TO THE HON. C. F. MERCER, M. H. R. U. S.

BY M. CAREY.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND IMPROVED.

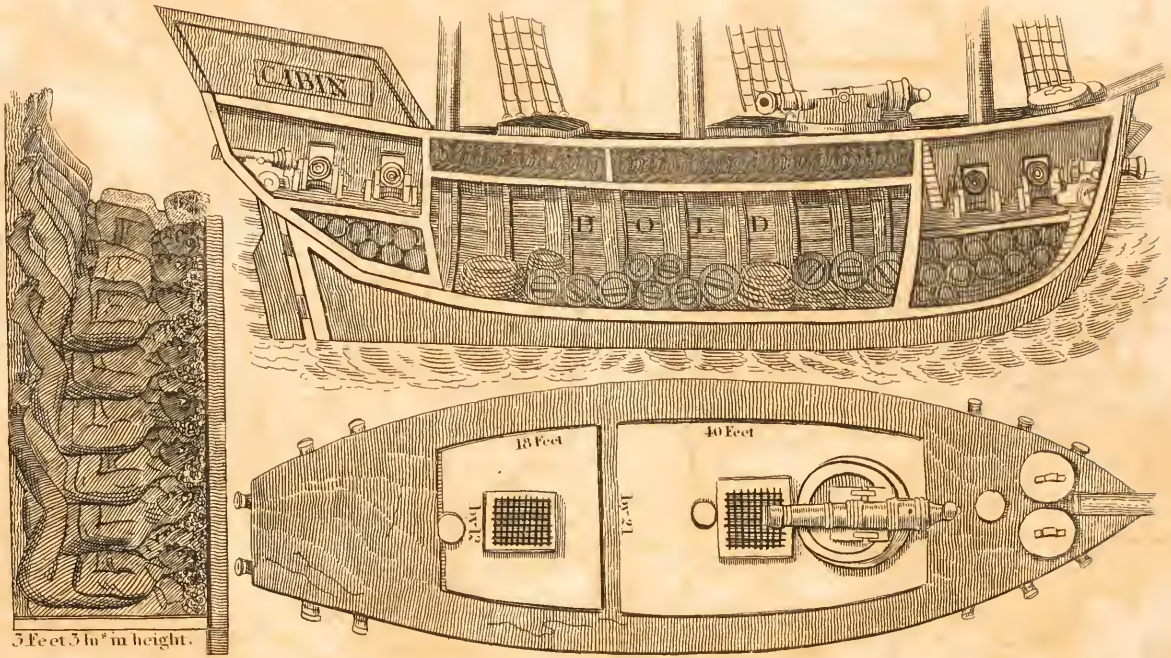
"Nearly 2,000 persons have kindled a beacon fire at Monrovia, to cast a broad blaze of light into the dark recesses of that benighted land; and though much pains have been taken to overrate the cost, and undervalue the results, yet the annals of colonization may be triumphantly challenged for a parrallel.

"Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for surveying the coast—propitiating the natives—and selecting the most eligible site. Numerous agents were subsequently employed—ships chartered—the coast cleared—schools, factories, hospitals, churches, government buildings and dwellings erected—and the many expenses requisite here were defrayed;—and yet, for every fifty dollars expended by the society from its commencement, we have not only a settler to show, but an ample and fertile territory in reserve, where our future emigrants may 'sit down under their own vines and fig trees, with none to make them afraid.' During the last year, an amount, nearly equal to the united expenditures has been exported by the colonists. *From Philadelphia alone, eleven vessels have sailed;* three of them chartered through the efforts of the Pennsylvania Society, and bearing to the land of their fathers a large number, of slaves, manumitted by he benevolence of their late owners."—*Cresson.*

April 26, 1832.

YOUNG, PRINTER.

SECTION OF A SLAVE SHIP.



From Walsh's Notes of Brazil


Longitude W from Greenwich 10°30'
St Pauls R.
Caldwell
Halfway
Farms
Montserado
Town
Montserado
Monrovia
Junk River
District
N. Junk R.
Junk Territory
Colonial Factory
S. Junk R.
Little Bassa
Factory Island
Colonial Factory
St Johns R.
Grand Bassa
6° 30' N Lat.
Tabocannee
Territory
Tabacanna
Proposed Town
Colonial Factory
N. Sesters Terr.
Kings R.
Trade town
Kings Wests Old Dom
Grand Colo
scale
10
15
20 miles
Map
of the
COLONY of LIBERIA
on the West Coast of
AFRICA
from a MS Map by the late
Mr ASHMUN.


68
69
PLAN OF THE TOWN OF MONROVIA.
LIBERIA BAY
CAPE MONTSERADO
MONTSERADO RIVER
Bally
Island
Bank
Island
Marsh
ATLANTIC OCEAN
False Cape
REFERENCES.
1. Fort Stockton.
2. Town landing and Pier.
3. Town Court & Lunatic shed house
4. Market Square – landing place
5. New Agency house.
6. Smith shop.
7. Baptist Church.
8. Methodist Chapel
9. Magazine.
10. Public Warehouse.
11. Public Garden containing 1 acre.
12. Currah Town. 13. Thompsons Town

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Advantages to the free coloured Population, by emigration to Liberia; Disadvantages of slavery to the white population; Character of the Natives of Africa, before the irruptions of the Barbarians; Effects of Colonization on the Slave Trade, with a slight sketch of that nefarious and accursed traffic.

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Philadelphia, April 26, 1832.

YOUNG, PRINTER.

"We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature for the record of any human plan, for the melioration of the condition or advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good, or more comprehensive beneficence than that of African colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited by the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race; but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and the happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. It appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty, here and elsewhere. The colonists, reared in the bosom of this republic, with a perfect knowledge of all the blessings which freedom imparts, altho' they have not always been able themselves to share them, will carry a recollection of it to Africa, plant it there, and spread it over her boundless territory. And may we not indulge the hope, that, in a period of time not surpassing in duration, that of our own colonial and national existence, we shall behold a confederation of republican states, on the western shores of Africa, like our own, with their congress and annual legislatures, thundering forth in behalf of the rights of man, and making tyrants tremble on their thrones?"—*Mr. Clay.*

"It will enable them to become a free, independent, civilized and christian nation in the land of their forefathers. Elevated in character and in full enjoyment of the rights of man, they will not only assume a station in the great human family, which it is impossible for them to attain in this country; but their example and influence will gradually extend over those numerous tribes, which, through all time have remained in a state of barbarism and degradation, and cruelly subjected to slavery by surrounding and distant nations."—*Dearborn.*

"They point to Africa, sitting beneath her own palm trees, "clothed in sackcloth, and weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted," because they have been murdered on her desolated shores, and buried beneath the billows of the ocean, and carried into hopeless and interminable slavery. Wretched Africa! she has indeed fallen among thieves, who have robbed and wounded her, and she is now bleeding from a thousand wounds—*who will act to her the part of a good Samaritan?* Who will "bind up her wounds, and pour into them *wine and oil*," and protect her from her enemies, and chase away those human vultures, that are perpetually hovering on her coasts, and feeding on the flesh and blood of her children? Who will light for her the lamp of science, and publish the glad tidings of salvation to her sons and daughters? and raise her from that state of moral degradation, into which she has sunk in the lapse of ages?"—*M'Kinney.*

"There is not, we believe, another benevolent enterprize on earth, so well calculated to secure the favourable opinion and enlist the hearty good will of ALL MEN, as this is, when its objects and bearings are fully understood. In relation to this society it is eminently the fact, that opposition and indifference have their origin in prejudice or want of information. Ignorance may raise an objection which it requires knowledge to remove; and to rest one's refusal to co-operate in what he is told is a good work, on his own ignorance, is both weak and wicked. Especially in relation to a benevolent enterprize of such magnitude as this, and which has been some ten or fifteen years before the public, the plea of ignorance is made with a very ill grace."

"Is a nation like this to be embarrassed by an annual appropriation of little more than a million of dollars to the cause of humanity? a nation that can extinguish in a year twelve millions of national debt, and at the same time prosecute with vigour its majestic plans of defence and internal improvement? a nation, one of whose states can hazard six millions of dollars on the project of opening a canal—a nation, whose canvass whitens every sea, and proudly enters almost every harbour of the globe?—a nation, whose villages and cities are rising, as by magic, over a fertile territory of two millions of square miles:—a nation, destined within the compass of the passing century to embosom a white population of eighty millions? With the past smiles of Divine Providence, our national debt will be soon annihilated. And from that glad hour, let the government provide liberally for all its necessary operations—let it push forward in its splendid machinery of political improvement, and then give to our cause but the surplus of its revenue: and as regards the expense of transportation, *it will [at no distant day] furnish the means of granting to every African exile* among us, a happy home in the land of his fathers."—Rev. B. DICKINSON.

PREFACE.

From the ardent opposition made to the Colonization Society by some of our white citizens, and by a number of the free coloured population, it might be supposed, by those unacquainted with the nature of the case, that the emigrants were absolutely pressed, like British seamen, and hurried off against their inclinations—that they were here in the enjoyment of all the solid advantages of society, each man "sitting under his own vine and his fig tree, and none to make him afraid"—that in Liberia they were to be in some degree enslaved—and that the climate was pestilential and the soil sterile and ungrateful. Were this a true picture of the case, the opposition to the society could not be more ardent or zealous.

I have treated on the situation of the free coloured population of this country, (p. 27) and shall not therefore refer to it here: but so far as regards the colony at Liberia, it is proved, by evidence of the most undeniable character—of American Captains, Kennedy, Sherman, Nicholson, and Abels; by that of Mr. Devany, a coloured man, High Sheriff of Liberia, who had been in the colony for six years, made a handsome fortune, and returned to this country to visit his friends and relations;—and more especially by that of a committee of the colonists at Monrovia, appointed to draw up an address to their brethren in this country; that the project of colonization has fully realized, and not merely realized, but exceeded the most sanguine expectations formed of it by its ardent supporters; that the contrast between the situation of the colonists and that of their brethren in this country is immensely in favour of the former; and that the condition of the most favoured of the free coloured population here, is inferior in many important particulars to that of the great mass of the colonists, any one of whom may, by good behaviour, aspire to the highest office in the colony, and in the election of officers, he has as free a voice as Mr. Madison or Mr. Adams has in the election of state and United States' officers.

It is, therefore, difficult to conceive what good purpose can be answered by the opposition to the plan of colonization, or by what motive its opposers can be influenced.

There are three strong points of view in which this subject may be considered, which must gain for colonization the zealous and efficient support of every man, white or coloured, who is not under the dominion of inveterate and incurable prejudice. I omit other important points which might be mooted.

I. The colony has arrested the progress of the nefarious and accursed slave trade in its neighbourhood; destroyed some slave factories, and liberated a number of slaves who were on the point of being transported across the Atlantic, subject to all the horrors of the passage, and, if they escaped with life, to the horrors of perpetual slavery; and there cannot be a doubt that at no distant day the trade will be annihilated on the whole of the western coast of Africa.

II. It has been the means of securing the emancipation of hundreds of slaves, in various parts of the United States, who are

now in a genial climate, enjoying the luxury of freedom with all its attendant blessings; and, from the present disposition of the citizens of some of the slave states, particularly Virginia, there is no doubt that thousands will be emancipated as fast as means of transportation can be procured.

III. It has commenced spreading the blessings of civilization, morals, and religion among the natives in the neighbourhood of the colony, whom it has taught to depend on honest industry in the cultivation of the soil, instead of the demoniac operation of setting fire to towns and villages, for the horrible purpose of seizing the wretched fugitives flying from the flames, which was their former occupation.

Now I freely appeal to Mr. Garrison, and Mr. Lundy, the most formidable opposers of colonization, and to their friends, and beg them to lay their hands on their hearts, and answer in the presence of their Maker, if any one of those objects does not repay tenfold the sacrifice which the whole have cost?

Among the objections—how easy to make plausible objections!—offered to the colonization plan, one is, that considering the immense number of the coloured people in this country, about 2,400,000, it is impossible to make any serious impression on them by emigration, especially as the colony at present, after twelve years existence, contains but 2,000 souls. Let us examine this objection.

The annual increase, as I have shown, is about 60,000. The expense to the government, or the society, will probably be $25 per head for all the emigrants large and small (taking into consideration those who pay, or whose masters will pay their passage), or about $1,500,000 per ann. for that number. This sum, provided the subject were cordially taken up by the state legislatures and congress, would not be attended with the slightest difficulty. Indeed, if encountered with the zeal which its importance demands, twice the sum could be easily raised. But then the objectors emphatically demand, how shall we provide for the transportation of such a number!

It appears from Walsh's Sketches of Brazil that in the year 1828, there were no less than 43,000 slaves received in the single port of Rio de Janeiro—and it is fairly presumable that an equal number were received at the Havanna and other ports—making, with those that died on board, at least 100,000 ravished from their native land in one year. If the wretches engaged in that nefarious traffic could find means of transporting 100,000 human beings in one year across the Atlantic, surely this powerful nation could, to accomplish the great objects in view, and to rescue itself by degrees from the odious stain of slavery, accomplish the conveyance of 60, or even 100,000 to a land where they will be "lords of the soil." 60 or 70,000 persons have emigrated in one year from Great Britain and Ireland.

It is asked how shall provision be made for such a number in Liberia? they will perish for want of sustenance.

Can there exist any fear on this subject, when the soil of Liberia produces two regular crops a year, with the most imperfect culture? Philad'a, April 26, 1832.

LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

The Southampton Massacre.—Difference between the State of Slavery in Greece and Rome, and in the United States.—Various Plans of Colonization.—Objects of the Colonization Society.

TO THE HON. CHARLES F. MERCER.

Dear Sir—

The tragical issue of the insurrection in Northampton, in which above sixty whites fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of their slaves, and subsequently to which a great number of slaves suffered the penalties of the violated laws of the state, has awakened the slave states out of their slumbers, and excited considerable attention towards our coloured population, and the awful consequences likely to ensue, sooner or later, from the admixture of two heterogeneous castes in the country, without the least probability, at any future period, however remote, of an amalgamation between them, in consequence of the diversity of colour.

In this respect our situation is widely different from that of Greece or Rome. The great mass of their slaves were of the same colour as their masters, and a complete amalgamation might take place in a generation or two. Against such a result there is in this country an insuperable barrier.

This subject had occupied the attention of some of the wisest and best men of the country for above half a century. Several attempts were made in different provinces to prevent the importation of slaves, and laws were passed for the purpose, but they were uniformly rejected by the governors, under instructions from the British privy council—or by that council when the acts were transmitted for royal approbation. So early as 1772, the house of burgesses of Virginia unanimously agreed upon an address to the king of Great Britain, praying him "to remove those restraints on the governors of the colony, which inhibited them from assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce."

"The importation of slaves into the colonies, from the coasts of Africa, has long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, WILL ENDANGER THE VERY EXISTENCE OF YOUR MAJESTY'S AMERICAN DOMINIONS.

"We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emolument from this sort of traffic; but when we consider that *it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more white inhabitants, and may in time have the most destructive influence*, we presume to hope that the interests of a few will be

disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects."

This and various other efforts were entirely fruitless—the trade remained unrestrained until the declaration of independence, when Virginia and some other states prohibited it altogether.

Unfortunately the sound sentiments displayed by the burgesses of Virginia in 1772, were forgotten, or had lost their influence in 1787, when the federal constitution was formed—for by that instrument congress was prohibited from passing laws to prevent the importation of slaves for twenty years. A courtly style was employed. It was not thought proper to introduce the word "slaves"—"A rose by any other name would smell as sweet."

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

In consequence of this unfortunate constitutional legitimation of the slave trade, it was carried on for twenty years on a large scale, and sowed a seed which has germinated with fatal fertility, and threatens a heavy retribution.

In the discussion of the best means of averting or at least of mitigating the evil to be dreaded from the existence among us of a class of people, who, although free, and therefore righteously entitled to all the advantages and privileges of freemen, were nevertheless, in a great degree, debarred from them by the inexorable force of public prejudice, and, in most of the states, were subject to rules and regulations and proscriptions, of the most oppressive and galling kind—in this discussion, I say, public opinion settled down in favour of an extensive system of colonization.

On the subject of the location, there was not the same degree of unanimity. Some of our citizens were in favour of selecting a portion of the vacant territory of the United States, and setting it apart for the purpose. Others were, and some still are, for making an arrangement with the government of Mexico, and sending the class in question to Texas. Others, again, advocated a settlement on the western coast of Africa, as the *natale solum* of their ancestors, and as the climate is better suited to the great majority of the coloured people of this country. The last plan was finally adopted.

The objects of the friends of colonization are—

I. To rescue the free coloured people from the disqualifications, the degradation, and the proscription to which they are exposed in the United States.

II. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train.

III. To avert the dangers of a dreadful collision at a future day of the two castes, which must inevitably be objects of mutual jealousy to each other.

IV. To spread civilization, sound morals and religion throughout the vast continent of Africa, at present sunk in the lowest and most hideous state of barbarism.

V. And though last, not least, to afford slave owners who are conscientiously scrupulous about holding human beings in bondage, an asylum to which they may send their manumitted slaves.

The last item has recently assumed a greatly increased importance. Manumissions are prohibited in some of the slave states, unless the parties remove beyond their boundaries; and the entrance of free negroes into others, is prohibited; so that manumissions, without deportation, appear to be almost wholly at an end. It remains to be seen, in the sequel, from the results that have already taken place, how far the benign purposes of the society are likely to be accomplished.

With such noble objects in view, it is truly wonderful, that although the society has been in existence for twelve years, the whole of the contributions public and private, (except the support by the government of the United States, of negroes captured from slave traders) received by the society for carrying them into effect, has been but about $125,000, not a cent a head for the entire population of the most prosperous nation in the world; a nation, moreover, in which other objects, some of them of inferior usefulness, are most liberally supported! This must have arisen from an impression entertained by many, that the scheme is absolutely impracticable. Hence many liberal individuals have wholly withheld their contributions. Of this opinion was the writer of these letters, at an early stage of the existence of the society. He regarded it as one of the wildest projects ever conceived by enlightened men; and therefore, in the language of Sterne respecting the Monk, he was "predetermined not to give them a single sous." Mature reflection has, however, convinced him of his error: he is now satisfied that the project is not more benignant and beneficent, than practicable, provided the general and state governments, and public spirited individuals yield it a support in any degree commensurate with its importance.

In the hope of converting others, as he himself has been converted, he believes he may render an acceptable service to his country, by placing before the public, in plain, unadorned language, the leading features of the case, under the following prominent heads.

1. The origin of the society.
2. The progress of the colony compared with that of Massachusetts, Virginia and North Carolina.
3. The increase of the coloured population, free and slaves.
4. The declarations of legislatures and other public bodies in favour of the society.
5. The manumission of slaves in this country.
6. The situation and future prospects of the colonists at Monrovia, Caldwell, &c.
7. Their moral and religious character.

8. The soil, climate, productions, and commerce of Liberia.

9. The disadvantages under which the free coloured population labour in this country, and those resulting to the white population from the existence of slavery.

10. The character of the natives of Africa before the irruption of the barbarians.

11. The salutary effects of the colony in repressing the slave trade, with a slight sketch of that nefarious traffic.

This, you will say, is a wide field. I agree with you. How far I shall have succeeded in my attempt, must be decided when I reach the close of my labours, the "Finis."

Yours, &c. M. C.

Philadelphia, April 8, 1832.

LETTER II.

Early plans of Colonization.—Mr. Jefferson's and Mr. Thornton's.—Resolve of the Legislature of Virginia.—Ineffectual Negotiations.—Formation of the Colonization Society.

Dear Sir—

As early as the year 1777, Mr. Jefferson formed a plan for colonizing the free coloured population of the United States. The particulars I have not been able to obtain. There is reason to believe, that he proposed the settlement in some of the western vacant lands. Be that as it may, the project proved an abortion, owing partly to the distractions and difficulties of the war, and partly to the novelty and magnitude of the undertaking. How much to be deplored the result! Had he succeeded, what a source of danger and disaster would have been dried up for ever!

In the year 1787, Dr. Thornton, of Washington, formed a plan for establishing a colony of that population on the western coast of Africa, and published an address to those residing in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him. A sufficient number of them agreed to go, and were prepared for the expedition. But this project likewise failed for want of funds. The public mind was not then prepared for affording pecuniary support. About the year 1800 or 1801, the legislature of Virginia, in secret session, instructed Mr. Monroe, then governor of the state, to apply to the president of the United States, and urge him to institute negotiations with some of the powers of Europe possessed of colonies on the coast of Africa, to grant an asylum to which our emancipated negroes might be sent. Mr. Jefferson opened a negotiation with the Sierra Leone Company, for the purpose, but without success. He subsequently applied to the government of Portugal, and equally failed. The project was then abandoned as hopeless.

In the session of the legislature of Virginia, in 1816, the subject

was again brought forward, and the following resolution was adopted by a large majority.

"Whereas the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum, beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of colour as had been or might be emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success:

"They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe haveconcurred with the government of the United States, in abolishing the African Slave Trade (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the revolution, zealously sought to exterminate,) to renew this effort, and do therefore,—

"*Resolve*, That the executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the states or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this state in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects.

"*Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth, until ratified by the legislature."

It thus appears that the scheme of colonization which is now violently denounced in some of the southern papers, as a conspiracy against the rights and property of the slave holders, and forms one of the means whereby the dangerous effervescence in South Carolina has been excited, originated with the great leading slave state, which possesses more than a third of all the slaves in the five original slave states.

At length the time arrived when the country was ripe for the establishment of the society. In December, 1816, a considerable number of citizens, very nearly all slave holders, met at Washington, to take the subject into consideration. Bushrod Washington presided. Long debates ensued. Henry Clay, John Randolph, of Roanoke, and various other powerful orators, addressed the meeting in support of the plan. Mr. Randolph observed, that

"If a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay, thousands, who would, by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession!"

At this meeting, a letter from Mr. Jefferson, dated in 1811, was read, in which, having mentioned his negotiations with the Sierra Leone Company and Portugal, he adds—

"Indeed nothing is more to be wished, than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa."*

A constitution was formed; Bushrod Washington was appointed president, and Messrs. Crawford, Clay, Rutgers, Howard, &c., vice presidents. An eloquent memorial to Congress was drawn up, which Mr. Randolph undertook to present to that body.

Yours, &c. M. C.

Philadelphia, April 10, 1832.

* African Repository, vol. VI. page 199.

LETTER III.

Agents sent to Africa to explore the coast for a suitable situation.—Land purchased.—Conflict with the natives.—Agent seized by them.—Monrovia besieged.—In imminent danger.—Colonists triumph.—Peace.

Dear Sir—

In November, 1819, the society appointed two agents, the Rev. S. J. Mills and Mr. Ebenezer Burgess, to proceed to the coast of Africa, via England, to make the necessary explorations and inquiries as to a suitable location for a settlement. The object of landing in England, was to procure letters to the leading men at Sierra Leone, and also to gain such general information respecting the coast of Africa as might be attainable. They succeeded in both objects, and procured, moreover, recommendations from the Court of Copenhagen, to its colonial authorities on the coast. They sailed from the Downs on the 7th of February, 1820, and arrived at Sierra Leone early in March. They visited all the ports from Sierra Leone to Sherboro. At this last place they found a small colony of coloured people settled by John Kizel, a South Carolina slave, who had joined the British in the revolutionary war, and at its close was taken to Nova Scotia, from whence he sailed with a number of his countrymen to Africa, where he established this small settlement, which was, at the arrival of the agents, in a prosperous situation. By Kizel and his people, the agents were kindly and hospitably received. After gaining all the information necessary for their purpose, they sailed from the coast in May, and arrived in the United States in the following month. Mr. Mills died on the passage.

The slave trade having been abolished by Congress, and the American vessels of war being authorized to capture all vessels engaged in it, under the American flag, one of them was taken, and the liberated Africans were brought to this country, landed in Georgia, and were about to be sold by virtue of an act of that state. A clause in the act directed the constituted authorities to deliver such slaves up to the Colonization Society, on payment of all expenses incurred since their capture and condemnation. With this condition the society complied, and received the slaves, about thirty in number.

To guard against a recurrence of a similar state of things, Congress, on the 3d of March, 1819, passed an act authorising the president "to make such rules and regulations as he might deem expedient for the safe keeping, support, and removal of slaves captured in vessels engaged in the slave trade; and to appoint a proper person or persons, as agent or agents on the coast of Africa for receiving them."

It was obvious that the objects of the government could be better accomplished in conjunction with the Colonization Society,

than separately. Accordingly, in the year 1820 the Elizabeth was chartered, and took out to the coast two agents of the government, one from the society, and about eighty emigrants. The latter were to be employed at the expense of the government, in preparing accommodations for the reception of recaptured negroes.

They were in the outset extremely unfortunate. They found it impossible to obtain a suitable place, and "were compelled, by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a temporary establishment in the low, unhealthy island of Sherbro." Here they were detained some time endeavouring to purchase land—and were attacked by fatal diseases which carried off the three agents, and twenty of the colonists.

The colony was in a lamentable state in the spring of 1821. Great confusion and want of subordination prevailed, in consequence of the death of the agents. At that time four new ones arrived, Messrs. Andrews, Wiltberger, Winn, and Bacon; the two first on the part of the society, and the others on that of the United States. They brought out twenty-eight emigrants—and from the difficulties that had occurred in procuring land, they proceeded with the old and new hands to the neighbourhood of Freetown, in the colony of Sierra Leone. One of the agents, Mr. Bacon, being taken sick, returned to the United States. Mr. Andrews died in August, and Mr. Winn in September.

This was a most appalling state of things, and would have discouraged ordinary men from a prosecution of the scheme. Fortunately, such timid counsels did not prevail. The society determined to persevere, trusting that more experience, and the choice of a more salubrious situation would guard against a repetition of those disasters.

A new agent, Dr. Ayres, was appointed, who, with lieutenant Stockton, on the part of the United States, sailed in November, 1821, and arrived on the coast of Africa in December. On a careful examination of the coast, they purchased the country called Montserado, where the colony is now settled. The price agreed upon, was three hundred dollars, payable in powder and ball, fire arms, tobacco, clothing, &c.

The Africans who had been landed at Sierra Leone, were now sent for, and affairs wore a promising aspect, when an untoward circumstance occurred, which threatened a total failure of the scheme.

A small slave vessel, prize to an English schooner, with thirty recaptured slaves on board, and bound for Sierra Leone, put in for water at Perseverance Island, part of the purchased territory, where the colonists were stationed. Having unfortunately parted her cable, she drifted on shore, where she was wrecked. The custom of the coast appropriates to the petty chief on whose lands a wreck takes place, the vessel and her entire contents. King George, on whose territory the accident happened, sent his people to take possession. They were resisted by the captain and crew, and were discomfited. While the natives were preparing to renew

the attack, the captain sent to the agent for assistance, which was readily granted. A boat was instantly manned, and sent to his relief, and a brass field piece on the island brought to bear on the assailants, who were accordingly put to the rout, with the loss of two killed and several wounded. The crew and slaves were brought in safety to land, but the vessel went to pieces, and most of the stores and property was lost.

This exasperated the natives, not merely by the loss of their prey and their men, but by the prospect it held out of similar interferences in future. They anticipated the total interruption of the slave trade, which was their principal dependence for procuring supplies of whatever they might want. They, therefore, determined to extirpate the colony, while in its feeble and defenceless state.

Only part of the goods had been delivered, and the natives refused to take the remainder, and insisted on returning what they had received. This, of course, the agent refused, and they had recourse to a stratagem to accomplish their purpose. They invited him to an amicable conference, and as soon as they had him in their power, made him a prisoner, and detained him until he consented to take the articles back. Then they insisted on the colonists withdrawing from the settlement altogether. Pleading the difficulty of removal, for want of a place to which to retire, he was permitted to remain till he could make a purchase of land. Meanwhile he made an appeal to Boatswain, one of the native kings, who enjoyed a sort of supremacy among them, and who, on hearing the respective allegations, gave an award in favour of the colonists, that the bargain had been fair on both sides; that there was no ground for rescinding it; and therefore, that the natives should receive the stipulated goods, and relinquish the purchased territory. With this judgment his perfidious regal brethren were forced to comply, as he threatened them with his vengeance if they proved refractory.

They brooded over the discomfiture in the field, and before the arbiter, and determined, on his departure to his own station, to make a decisive attempt to extirpate the colony. The colonists had information of their preparations, and made every exertion to be enabled to meet them. But their number was small, having but 35 effective men; their defences were incomplete; they had but few cannon; and the agent, the Rev. Mr. Ashmun, a man of extraordinary zeal, ardour, and energy, was dangerously ill; but had, nevertheless, to give all the necessary orders, some of them dictated from his bed, as he had no adequate substitute.

The enemy consisted of a body of eight hundred men, and made a most furious attack on the 8th of November, 1822. Unfortunately one pass was neglected to be properly defended, and there the enemy forced an entrance, and captured one of the guns, which happily they knew not how to manage. The colony was saved by their want of discipline. Had they pushed forward, their success was certain; the colonists could not have resisted; but

the assailants betook themselves to plunder, in great confusion: this afforded the colonists time to rally; they recaptured the gun; and turned it on the enemy, who were wedged in a solid mass. Great destruction took place, and they fled in utter confusion; it was supposed they had 60 or 80 killed. The loss on the other side was considerable, three men and one woman killed, two men and two women severely wounded, and seven children captured.

The colonists, as soon as the enemy had disappeared, immediately began to complete their defences, and prepare for another attack, which they understood from their spies, was to be made with a greater force at the close of the month. The attack accordingly commenced on the 30th, with 1,500 assailants. The fortifications were in a far better state than before, but the number of effective men less, not quite 30. The besiegers were, after a long and ardent struggle, finally defeated, with severe loss. The garrison had one man killed, and two badly wounded. Mr. Ashmun's services were invaluable, and were the means of saving the place.

His Britannic Majesty's schooner, Driver, fortunately arrived in the harbour at this time, and the commander kindly offered his services as mediator, which were gladly accepted by both parties, as they were equally tired of "the unprofitable contest." The native princes signed an engagement "to observe an unlimited truce with the colony, and submit all their differences to the arbitration of the governor of Sierra Leone."

Since that period the colonists have not been molested. They are objects of respect and veneration, and their friendship is sought after by all the petty kings in their neighbourhood.

A regular form of government was adopted in 1824, which produced the happiest effects on the morals and manners of the Colonists. In truth, this period may be stated as almost the commencement of the establishment—the four preceding years having been the reign of anarchy and confusion.

Yours, &c., M. C.

Philadelphia, April 12, 1832.

LETTER IV.

Increase of the coloured Population.

Dear Sir—

The dangers arising from the great increase of a caste in the nation, who are by custom cut off from all chance of amalgamation with their fellow beings of a different colour, are yearly augmenting by the natural horror of slavery, which is constantly gaining strength in the breasts of the slaves; by the unceasing discussions in our papers, especially by those that recently took place in the legislature of Virginia; and by the inflammatory publications, which are clandestinely spread among the slaves, in spite of the vigilance and

denunciations of their masters. Circumstances, too, are occasionally occurring which tend to fan the flame; among which may be reckoned the general manumission of the slaves in the royal colonies of Great Britain, and the steady and persevering efforts making in and out of parliament in that kingdom, to procure a total emancipation in all the British colonies.

In the discussion of this subject, it is only necessary to cast a furtive glance at the scenes in St. Domingo, and the various insurrections planned and attempted in this country, to be satisfied that the subject has not hitherto attracted that consideration in general, to which it is entitled by its great magnitude and importance. Although there is, I hope and trust, no great danger of such insurrectionary attempts proving successful, yet they may, and in all probability will, produce repetitions of the horrible scenes which took place at Southampton, at which humanity shudders.

On this view of the subject, it could scarcely have been anticipated, that the scheme proposed by the Colonization Society, of removing such of the free people of colour as are disposed to emigrate to the land of their fathers, and such slaves as are emancipated, on condition of removal to that land, should have met with any opposition. It is, nevertheless certain, that it has been violently opposed in two quarters where it might have rationally been supposed likely to meet with most favour, in South Carolina, and among some of the free blacks.

We shall in the sequel consider the opposition of the free blacks. At present we shall confine ourselves to the case of South Carolina. That state is by far more particularly interested in the success of the scheme than any other, except perhaps Louisiana; as these are the only two states in which the slave population exceeds that of the whites.

Population of South Carolina.	*Whites.*	*Slaves.*
In 1790	131,181	107,094
1830	257,878	315,565

Thus it appears that while the slaves very nearly trebled their numbers, the whites did not quite double theirs.

The relative situation of the white and coloured population east of the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, places this subject in a striking point of view. It appears that the latter have gained on the former in forty years, 106,176, being more than a fourth part of the number of whites at present in that part of the country. To render this case more remarkable, it is to be observed, that during this period, the shipment of slaves from that portion of Virginia to the more southern states, has been carried to an enormous extent.

	Total.		*Majority.*	
Population east of the Blue Ridge.	*Whites.*	*Blacks.*	*Whites.*	*Blacks.*
In 1790	314,523	289,425	25,098	
1800	336,289	339,293		3,004
1810	338,553	386,942		48,389
1820	348,873	413,928		65,055
1830	375,935	457,013		81,078

The following table exhibits the increase of the free coloured

people in the United States from the year 1790 to the present time.

In 1790	59,481	In 1810	186,446	In 1830	319,467
1800	110,073	1820	233,530		

A multiplication nearly six fold in forty years, and above 33 per cent. in the last ten years.

The disparity of increase of the white and coloured population in the five original slave states, deserves attention.

	1790.		1830.	
	Whites.	Slaves.	Whites.	Slaves.
Maryland,	208,650	103,036	291,093	102,878
Virginia,	442,127	292,627	694,439	469,724
North Carolina,	288,204	100,572	472,433	246,462
South Carolina,	130,178	107,094	257,878	315,665
Georgia,	52,886	29,264	296,614	217,407
	1,122,045	632,593	2,012,457	1,352,136

It thus appears, that the whites, in forty years, increased only about eighty per cent.; while the slaves increased one hundred and twelve. In North Carolina, the whites increased but sixty-four per cent.; while the slaves increased one hundred and forty five. The number of slaves in Maryland has slightly decreased, partly by manumissions, and partly by the shipment of slaves to the more southern states, both of which have taken place in that state on a large scale. The free coloured population in 1790, was only 8,042, whereas, in 1830, it was 52,942.

Table of the number of coloured people, free and slaves, in the United States, at the various periods of taking the census, together with a statement of the numbers that will be in the country every decennial census, till 1880, at the rate of increase that took place between 1820 and 1830, viz., at 35 per cent.

1790 - - -	757,178	1840 - - -	3,145,552
1800 - - -	1,006,912	1850 - - -	4,246,495
1810 - - -	1,377,780	1860 - - -	5,732,768
1820 - - -	1,771,658	1870 - - -	7,739,236
1830 - - -	2,330,039	1880 - - -	10,447,968

Yours, &c., M. C.

Philadelphia, April 14, 1832.

LETTER V.

Expense of Passage—Manumissions.

Dear Sir—

It remains to ascertain as nearly as possible, the expense of emigration.

The passage is at present calculated at about twenty dollars, and the expense for the maintenance of each emigrant for six months at about 15 dollars; making all together, 35 dollars.

But children from two to twelve years of age are taken at half price, and below two years free of charge; allowing for a due proportion of children, thirty dollars will be a tolerably fair estimate for passage and support.

Moreover, when the situation of the colony becomes better known, and the prejudices which have been industriously created against it are done away, many emigrants will defray their own expenses, and many humane and charitable masters will, as has taken place already, pay the passage of their manumitted slaves.

Again. For a long time to come there will be, as there is at present, a great demand in the colony for labourers, and able-bodied men will, immediately on landing, be able to procure employment. In a late report it is stated, that of the whole number of emigrants that arrived in one vessel, only seven were unemployed in twenty days. Considering all these circumstances, we might be authorised to assume an average of twenty dollars for each; but if we err at all, it is better to err on the safe side, and assume twenty-five.

It appears that the annual increase is about 2½ per cent. In the former edition we erroneously assumed 3½.

Two and a half per cent. on the present number of coloured people in the United States, probably 2,400,000, amounts to 60,000 annually. Supposing the object to be to prevent any increase, and that therefore provision would have to be made for the conveyance of 60,000 annually, at 25 dollars each, the expense would be $1,500,000.

This sum is large, and would require considerable sacrifices. But was any grand object ever attained without great sacrifices? We were, when in a comparatively feeble state, able to raise $100,000,000 in a year and a half for the support of a war. Our revenue has been, for years, from 20 to $25,000,000, and the national debt is nearly paid off. The direct tax of the state of Pennsylvania in the year 1815 was $730,958, and that of Virginia $738,036, which were paid without any oppression of the citizens of either. And surely if reason and common sense have fair play, it will not be difficult to procure an amendment of the constitution (if such an amendment be necessary, which is doubted by many of our citizens) by three-fourths of the states, allowing the appropriation of a sum necessary for the purpose; and never did a nation make a more useful appropriation.

There are thirteen non-slaveholding States. There can be no doubt that these would ratify such an amendment; and from the prevalence of the conviction in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, of the dangers that menace the country from this source, their immediate concurrence might be calculated on, and the consent of two more would probably be had in a year or two, as the subject came to be more fully discussed, and of consequence better understood.

Among the most promising and encouraging circumstances attending the career of this society, are the numerous manumissions

that have taken place in almost all the slave states, on the express condition of the freed people being sent to Liberia.

These manumissions have occurred on a scale that the most sanguine friends of the scheme could not have anticipated. Entire families have been blest with their freedom, from the most pure motives, a conviction of the immorality and injustice of slavery—and in many cases ample provision has been made for the expense of their passage, and in some for their support in Liberia. They have been thus released from the debasement and degradation of slavery, and sent to the land of their fathers, to partake of all the happiness that freedom and the certainty of enjoying all the fruits of their labour, can inspire.

In this work of benevolence, the society of Friends, as in so many other cases, have nobly distinguished themselves, and assumed a prominent attitude. They have, in North Carolina, liberated no less than 652 slaves, whom they had under their care, besides, as says my authority, an unknown number of children, husbands and wives, connected with them by consanguinity. In the performance of these acts of benevolence, they expended $12,759. They had remaining under their care in Dec. 1830, 402 slaves, for whom the same arrangements were to be made.

It holds out every encouragement to the Colonization Society, that the applications for the transportation of free negroes, and slaves proposed to be emancipated on condition of removal to Liberia, far exceed its means. There are in North Carolina and the adjacent states, from three to four thousand of both descriptions, ready to embark, were the Society in a situation to send them away.

Yours, &c., M. C.

Philadelphia, April 14, 1832.

LETTER VI.

Progress of Liberia.—Inauspicious commencement in Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina.

Dear Sir—

A brief comparison of the progress made in Liberia, with the colonization of Massachusetts, Virginia and North Carolina, will place the first on high ground, and dispel the doubts of the most sceptical as to the ultimate success of this magnificent and benignant undertaking, if it receive a due degree of support. Let it be observed, that the society never made any calculation on being able to accomplish the mighty object of their enterprise by private resources alone. That would have been extravagant folly. The success must, they well knew, ultimately depend on the patronage of the general and state governments, united; the attainment of which they confidently hope for. The society has done its duty in proving the practicability of the scheme, and will steadily con-

tinue its exertions on a scale proportioned to the means placed at its disposal. Further than this it never promised.

The first expedition to Liberia took place in the year 1820, but met with so many difficulties and embarrassments at the commencement, that it was not until the year 1824, that any order or good government was established. All that has been accomplished worth notice has taken place within the last eight years. What, then, is the state of the case?

There are now above 2000 souls settled, contented, happy and prosperous; enjoying all the apparatus of a regular government; an improving agriculture; a prosperous and increasing commerce; settlements rapidly extending; a large territory, possessed of extraordinary advantages of soil, climate, and situation for commerce, fairly and honourably purchased, one hundred and fifty miles on the coast, and extending into the interior of the country thirty or forty miles; several slave factories destroyed and the slaves liberated; the slave trade abolished in the neighbourhood of the settlement; the circumjacent aboriginals tranquilized, regarding the settlers with reverence, and looking up to them for protection from the ferocious violence of those *hostes humani generis*, the slave traders; the attacks of some hostile petty kings repelled in 1822, in the very infancy of the colony, and in its most feeble state; education carefully attended to; the children of the natives sent in for instruction to the schools of the colonists; morals and religion flourishing. In a word, the most sanguine expectations of the founders of the colony more than realized, at this very early stage of its existence. It may be doubted whether any colony ever throve more completely in so short a space of time.

One feature in this colony most honourably distinguishes it from almost every other colony established in ancient or modern times. Of all other colonies the founders were impelled by a desire of conquest; a thirst of aggrandizement, or of the acquisition of wealth. With no such views were the founders of Liberia actuated. Pure benevolence alone inspired the illustrious men, the Finleys, the Thorntons, the Washingtons, the Mercers, the Ashmuns, the Caldwells, who projected or aided in the formation of the society. The benefit of the colonists and the peace and happiness of this country were the objects. For their attainment they devoted their time, and their substance, and endured the scoffs and ridicule and scorn to which their grand enterprise, in common with all great novel undertakings was subjected.

Let us now cast an eye on the early results of the attempts at the colonization of Massachusetts, Virginia and North Carolina.

The pilgrims who commenced the settlement of Massachusetts, landed in *December*, 1620, to the number of 120; and so ill were they provided with provisions and clothing, and so inclement was the season, that about fifty of them perished in the course of the winter and the ensuing spring.* And though they received fre-

* Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. I. page 94.

quent reinforcements, one half of the whole number of the settlers perished in the severe winter of 1629, and there remained but three hundred in the year 1630.*

What a striking contrast Liberia exhibits! How exhilarating and encouraging to its friends, and how useful a lesson does it hold out to its enemies!

But inauspicious as the incipient operations were in Massachusetts, the result was far worse for 25 years in Virginia. The first attempt at a settlement took place in 1585, and was succeeded for years by several numerous reinforcements, which in a great measure fell victims to their own irregularities, or to the hostile attacks of the Indians, whom those irregularities provoked. In 1610, the heroic Smith, the father of the colony, brought out a strong reinforcement, and returned home for further supplies of men, provisions, arms and ammunition, leaving the colony, as he supposed, secure against any contingency, however adverse, whether from the severity of the weather, or the assaults of the Indians. But all his calculations were miserably defeated by the worthlessness, the insubordination, and the licentiousness of the colonists.

"Smith left the colony furnished with three ships, good fortifications, twenty-five pieces of cannon, arms, ammunition, apparel, commodities for trading, and tools for all kinds of labour. At James Town there were nearly sixty houses. The settlers had begun to plant and to fortify at five or six other places. The number of inhabitants was nearly five hundred.—They had just gathered in their Indian harvest, and besides, had considerable provision in their stores. They had between five and six hundred hogs, an equal number of fowls, some goats and some sheep. They had also boats, nets, and good accommodations for fishing. But such was the sedition, idleness, and dissipation of this mad people, that they were soon reduced to the most miserable circumstances. No sooner was Capt. Smith gone, than the savages, provoked by their dissolute practices, and encouraged by their want of government, revolted, hunted and slew them from place to place. Nansemond, the plantation at the falls, and all the out-settlements, were abandoned. In a short time, nearly forty of the company were cut off by the enemy. Their time and provisions were consumed in riot; their utensils were stolen or destroyed; their hogs, sheep, and fowls killed and carried off by the Indians. The sword without, famine and sickness within, soon made among them surprising destruction. Within the term of six months, of their whole number, sixty only survived. These were the most poor, famishing wretches, subsisting chiefly on herbs, acorns, and berries. Such was the famine, that they fed on the skins of their dead horses: nay, they boiled and ate the flesh of the dead. Indeed they were reduced to such extremity, that had they not been relieved, the whole colony in eight or ten days would have been extinct. Such are the dire effects of idleness, faction, and want of proper subordination."†

All the difficulties and disasters that have occurred in Liberia from the commencement of the settlement till the present time, fall far short of the tithe of the calamities in Virginia in six months.

We have not as many details of the disasters in North Carolina. Williamson, its historian, is very brief on the subject; but he tells enough to prove that similar disorders and similar disasters took place there. The colony was commenced in 1668, and in 1694, "the list of taxables was only 787, being little more than half the number that were there in 1677," seventeen years before. "Such,"

* Idem, page 102. † Holmes's Annals, Vol. I. page 60.

says the writer, "were the baneful effects of rapine, anarchy and idleness."*

Yours, &c., M. C.

Philadelphia, April 18, 1832.

LETTER VII.

Legislative proceedings in favour of the Society.—Connecticut, New-Jersey, Kentucky, Delaware, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Maryland.—Synod of Utica.—General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.—Methodist Episcopal Conference.

Dear Sir—

The Colonization Society has, by perseverance and by the intrinsic merits of its views, at length "won golden opinions" from the greater part of the nation. The Legislatures of fourteen States, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, have passed resolutions distinctly recommending the scheme of colonizing the free coloured population, and most of them approving of the objects of the Society. Eleven of those states have instructed their senators, and requested their representatives in Congress to promote, in the general government, measures for removing such free persons of colour as are desirous of emigrating to Africa. And "nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States have, by resolutions, fully expressed their opinion, that the Society merits the consideration and favour of the whole Christian community, and earnestly recommend it to their patronage." I annex a few specimens:

Resolve of the Legislature of Connecticut, 1824.

"Resolved, That the existence of Slavery in the United States is a great national evil, and that the people and the States ought to participate in the burdens and duties of removing it by all just and prudent measures, which may be adopted *with a due regard to their internal peace and mutual harmony:* and that a system of colonization under the patronage of the General Government, may reasonably be deemed conducive to so desirable an object."

Resolve of the Legislature of New-Jersey, 1825.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Legislature, a system of Foreign Colonization, with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would in due time, effect the entire emancipation of slaves in this country, and furnish an asylum for the free blacks, *without any violation of the National Compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals;* and that such a system should be predicated upon the principle, that the evil of slavery is a national one, and *that the People and the States of this union ought, mutually, to participate in the duties and burdens of removing it.*"

Resolve of the Legislature of Kentucky, 1827.

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an asylum on the coast of Africa, for the free people of colour of the United States; and that the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this state, be and they are hereby requested, to use their efforts to facilitate

* Williamson's History of North Carolina, Vol. I. page 144.

the removal of such free persons of colour as may desire to emigrate from the United States to the colony in Africa, and to insure to them the protection and patronage of the General Government, so far as shall be deemed consistent with the safety and interest of the United States."

Of the Legislature of Delaware.

"Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, That it is requisite for our prosperity, and, what is of more important concern, essential to our safety, that measures should be taken, for the removal from this country, of the free negroes and mulattoes.

"Resolved, That this General Assembly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society, and consider that those objects deserve public support, and that they ought to be fostered and encouraged by the National Government, and with the National funds."

Resolution of the Senate of Pennsylvania, 1829.

"Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, That in the opinion of this general assembly, the American Colonization Society eminently demands the support of the national government, and that our Senators be directed, and the Representatives in Congress be requested to aid the same by all proper and constitutional means."

Resolution of the Legislature of Maryland, 1829

"Resolved unanimously, That the governor be requested to communicate to the President of the United States, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, the opinion of the general assembly, that a wise and provident policy suggests the expediency, on the part of our national government, of procuring through negociation, by cession or purchase, a tract of country on the western coast of Africa, for the colonization of the free people of colour of the United States."

Resolution of the State of Tennessee.

"Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That the Senators in Congress from this State, be, and they are hereby requested and instructed; and that the Representatives be, and they are hereby requested, to give to the government of the United States any aid in their power, in devising and carrying into effect a plan which may have for its object the colonizing, in some distant country, the free people of colour who are within the limits of the United States, or within the limits of any of their Territories."

Resolution of the State of Indiana, 1829.

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby requested, in the name of the State of Indiana, to solicit the assistance of the general government to aid the laudable designs of the Colonization Society, in such manner as Congress in its wisdom may deem expedient."

Resolution of the Senate of Massachusetts in 1830.

"*Resolved,* That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, be, and they are hereby requested, in the name of the State of Massachusetts, to solicit the assistance of the general government, to aid the laudable designs of the Colonization Society, in such manner as Congress in its wisdom may deem expedient."

Resolution of the Synod of Utica, N. Y. 1829.

"Resolved, That all clergymen within the bounds of this Synod, be, and they hereby are most earnestly requested to take up collections and subscriptions yearly, on or near the fourth of July, as a proper mode of aiding the funds of the Colonization Society; and that as far as practicable, they enable their people to understand the history, design, progress and prospects of the Society."

Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1830.

"Resolved, That it be recommended to all the churches under the care of the general assembly, to take up collections for the Colonization Society, on the next 4th of July."

Resolution of the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1831.

"Resolved, That the Conference highly approving of the plan and purposes of the American Colonization Society, do recommend that collections be taken up throughout the churches within our bounds, so far as is practicable, on the 4th of July next, in aid of the funds of the above Society."

LETTER VIII.

Situation of the Colonists in Liberia.—Testimony of a Committee in Monrovia.—Of Captain Nicholson—Of Captain Kennedy—Of Captain Sherman—Of Captain Abels.—Morals and Manners.

Dear Sir—

The subject discussed in this letter is of paramount importance. Whatever considerations of policy in regard to this country, might plead in favour of the scheme of colonization, it would not have the sanction of the friends of mankind, of those who commiserate the depressed condition of the coloured population of the United States, if the situation of the emigrants were not manifestly improved. To place this vital point on a basis as firm as the rock of Gibraltar, I have collected what may be regarded as a superfluity of testimony; as that of any one of the parties would be sufficient to remove all doubts from the minds of all persons open to conviction. But it seemed right in such a case, "to make assurance doubly sure."

In a Circular forwarded by a Committee of the inhabitants of Monrovia, to their brethren in the United States, they give the following description of their situation:

"The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object we regard with the deepest concern, was liberty—liberty in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word—not a licentious liberty—nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws—but that liberty of speech, action and conscience, which distinguishes the free enfranchised citizens of a free state. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country; and from causes, which, as regards ourselves, we shall soon forget for ever, we were certain, it was not there attainable for our children or ourselves. * * We truly declare, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized.

"Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States; and these rights and these privileges are ours: We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and, what is of more importance, our sentiments and opinions, have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own; they grow out of our circumstances, are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary, chosen among ourselves: we serve as jurors on the trial of others, and are liable ourselves to be tried only by jurors of our fellow-citizens. We have all that is meant by *liberty of conscience.* The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed to us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

"Forming a community of our own in the land of our forefathers, having the commerce, and soil, and resources of the country at our disposal; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority with which our very colour stamped us in America;

there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters—that repays us ten thousand times over all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons, for the happy change which has taken place in our situation."

Extract of a letter from Captain Nicholson, of the United States Navy, who spent some time at Liberia.

"The appearance of all the colonists, those of Monrovia, as well as those of Caldwell, indicated more than contentment. Their manners were those of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had by trade acquired a competency. * * * The children born in the country are fine looking, and I presume can be raised as easily as those of the natives. All the colonists with whom I had communication (and with nearly the whole of them did I communicate, in person, or by my officers) *expressed their decided wish to remain in their present situation, rather than return again to the United States.* I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the colony, than by mentioning, that *eight of my crew (coloured mechanics,) after going ashore two several days, applied for and received their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers.* These men had been absent from their country upwards of three years, and had among them nearly two thousand dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced that their happiness and prosperity would be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren in Liberia, they would not have determined on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps forever, where they all had left friends and relatives."

Extract of a Letter from Captain Kennedy, of the Java, who left Monrovia, Dec. 27th, 1830.

Norfolk, June 22, 1831.

"It may not be improper to observe, that my inquiries were commenced under auspices very unfavourable to the practicability of the scheme of the society; for while I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgments of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labours, and the very problematical results in the want of success, left an impression on my mind altogether unfavourable to the institution. Under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiries with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and wary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their situation, if such existed, or any latent desire to return to their native country. Neither of these did I observe. On the contrary, I thought I could perceive that *they considered that they had started into a new existence;* that, disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society, they felt themselves proud in their attitude, and seemed conscious, that while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers."

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sherman, of the Liberia, dated Philadelphia, May 10, 1830.

"The agent is the chief magistrate of the colony, and the physician his assistant. No white people are allowed to reside in the colony, for the purpose of trade, or of pursuing any mechanical business, such being intended for the exclusive benefit of the coloured people. The coloured secretary, collector of customs, surveyor and constables are appointed by the agent. The port agent, sheriff, treasurer and other officers, are elective; and all the offices, except that of agent and physician, are filled by coloured people.

"Two native kings have put themselves and their subjects, supposed to amount to ten thousand, under the protection of the colony, and are ready, should it be thought necessary or expedient by the settlers to put arms in their hands, to make common cause with them in case of hostilities by any of the natives, which, however, is not anticipated, as the most friendly disposition is manifested by all the natives of the country from whom any danger might have been apprehended.

"The township of Caldwell is about seven miles from Monrovia, on St. Paul's river, and contains a population of five hundred and sixty agriculturists. The soil is exceedingly fertile and pleasant, and the people satisfied and happy. The emigrants carried out by me, and from whom I received a pleasing and satisfactory account of that part of the territory, are located there."

Letter from Captain Abels, of the Schooner Margaret Mercer, dated Washington, Feb. 10, 1832.

"Having just arrived in the United States from the colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the colony. On the 14th of December I arrived, and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the colonists appeared to be in good health. *All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized.* There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter.—Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venitian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their coloured brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America.* I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a Minister of the Gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist Church, to full and attentive congregations of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent or Governor is a constant attendant on Divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free people of colour in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment.

"P. S. I have several times dined with the Colonists, and I think no better tables could be set in any part of the world. We had every thing that heart could desire, of meats, and fish, and fowls, and vegetables, and wines," &c. &c.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Mechlin, Colony Agent.

"As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the U. S.; that is, *you may take an equal number of the inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers and sabbath-breakers, &c., than in Liberia.* Indeed, I know of no country where things are conducted more quietly and orderly than in this colony. You rarely hear an oath, and as to riots and breaches of the peace, I recollect of but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, that has come under my notice since I assumed the government of the colony. The sabbath is more strictly observed, than I ever saw it in the United States. Our Sunday schools are well attended, not only by the children of the colonists, but also by the native children who reside amongst us. The natives themselves are so well acquainted with our strict observance of this day, that you never find them offering any thing for sale, nor can you hire them to work for you; I mean those who have been amongst us, and at all acquainted with our customs."

Extract from the examination of Mr. Devany, High Sheriff of Liberia, before a Committee of the House of Representatives of the U. S., May 27–28, 1830.

"Some instances of intemperance have occurred—but the habit is confined to two persons only, and does not go to such an extent, as to be of serious injury to the families of the individuals, who are blacksmiths. There are three churches, frame buildings, one of them with a steeple. One belongs to the baptists, one to the methodists, and one, not yet finished, to the presbyterians. *Divine service is attended three times on Sundays, and also on Thursday and Friday evenings.* The Sunday schools are attended by many of the native children. All who can be decently clad, are in the habit of attending."

* * * * * "The court holds its sessions on the first Monday in every month. Juries are empanneled as with us. The jurisdiction of the court extends over the whole colony. The trials are principally for larceny, and *the criminals generally natives,* who commit thefts in the settlements. A few instances of kidnapping have occurred. These depredations were committed on the recaptured Africans. *To the honour of the emigrants be it mentioned, that but five of their number have been committed for stealing or misdemeanor since* 1827.

"There is much hospitality to be found in Monrovia; and among the inhabitants, *a greater proportion of moral and religious people, than in this city,* [*Philadelphia.*] *I never saw a man intoxicated, or heard any profane swearing during the three weeks I was there.*"—Captain Sherman.

Yours, &c. M. C.

Philadelphia, April 22, 1832.

LETTER IX.

Soil and Climate of Liberia.—Commerce and Productions.—Disadvantages of Slavery to the White population.—Advantages of Colonization to our Free Coloured Population.

Dear Sir—

The colonists in their address to the coloured population of the United States, dated September 1827, observe that "The soil is not exceeded for fertility, or productiveness, when properly cultivated, by any soil in the world. The hills and plains are covered with perpetual verdure. *The productions of the soil go on through the year, without intermission.* Notwithstanding the imperfections of the farming tools used by the natives, they raise more than they can consume, and frequently more than they can sell. We have," they add, "no dreary winter here, for one-half the year, to consume the productions of the other half. *Nature is constantly renovating herself, and constantly pouring her treasures all the year round, into the lap of the industrious.*

"The true character of the African climate," continue the colonists, "is not understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, and as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in the colony—nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet existed in this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country, is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and in the case of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But *we look back to these times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and for the last two or three years not one person in fifty, from the middle and southern states, has died from the change of climate.*"

"For beauty and fertility, *the country is surpassed by none in the world; for salubrity of situation, excellent water, and facility of being brought under cultivation, by none equally unpeopled in Africa.* Imagine a fine river, half a mile wide, and

affording across its channel from bank to bank from three to four fathoms of water—the country on either side champaign, and the level about twenty to thirty feet above that of the river—the banks every where perpendicular, exhibiting, in order, the different strata of which the general bed of the country is composed—the waters of the river to be sweet at a very small distance above the mouth, eight months in the year—at nine miles, the year round—and you have a correct, but still imperfect idea of this noble river, and the adjacent country. The original growth is exuberant, and the soil a rich, deep and loose loam, entirely destitute of stones, exhibiting in some places a prevalence of sand, and in others of a fat clay—but all about equally productive."—*Ashmun.*

"Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influences of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The settlement can never be without it. * * No situation of Western Africa can be more salubrious. The sea air does all that can be done for it in this climate. One peculiarity is, that the night air is nearly as pure as any other. * * The rapidity and luxuriance of vegetation here, the natives of temperate latitudes can hardly imagine."—*Idem.*

Dr. Mechlin states in a recent communication, that "to those emigrants who have had the fever, and are in a great measure acclimated, Africa proves a more congenial clime than the United States. There they enjoy a greater immunity from disease: and pulmonary affections, so rife among the coloured population in the United States, are almost unknown in Liberia."

"It has been objected that the climate is very unhealthy—this is true as it respects the whites, but erroneous as respects the coloured people. Those from the middle and northern states have to undergo what is called a seasoning,—that is, they generally take the fever the first month of their residence; but it has rarely proved fatal since accommodations have been prepared for their reception: those from Georgia, the Carolinas, and the southern parts of Virginia, either escape the fever altogether, or have it very slightly. Deaths occur there indeed, as in other places: but Dr. Mechlin, the agent, assured me that the bills of mortality would show a less proportion of deaths, than those of Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York."—Captain Sherman.

The uniform experience of the colonists has proved that emigrants from the Southern States become speedily acclimated. If they have the fever of the country, it affects them very lightly—and those who are prudent, and observe the advice of the settlers, are in no more danger than emigrants from Europe to this country.

Commerce and Productions—The commerce of Liberia, as yet in its infancy, is respectable, and increasing annually. The exports are rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye wood, gold, hides, wax, and coffee. Coffee and cotton grow spontaneously. Indigo and the sugar cane succeed, and will be cultivated to advantage. Camwood is abundant, and mahogany grows at the cape. The timber of Liberia is various and durable, and well adapted to building. The imports consist of an assortment of the productions of Europe, the West Indies and America. The port of Monrovia is seldom clear of European and American vessels, loading and unloading.

A trading company has been formed at Monrovia, with a capital of $1000; and an agreement entered into, that no dividend shall be made until the profits increase the capital to $20,000. The stock has risen from 50 to 75 on transfer shares.

A colonist, of the name of Waring, sold goods to the amount of $70,000, in the year 1830. The sales of Mr. Devany, the sheriff, amounted to between 24 and $25,000, and his property is

worth about $20,000, made during the six years in which he has resided in Monrovia.

"The commerce of the colony, during the year 1831, has greatly exceeded that of any former year. Within that period 46 vessels visited the port, of which 21 were Americans, and a majority of the remainder English. The exports amounted to nearly 90,000 dollars, and the merchandize and produce on hand, at the close of the year, amounted to about 23,000 dollars."

Disadvantages to the Whites resulting from Slavery.

"To provide for the free negro a country, is alike the dictate of humanity towards him, and of policy towards ourselves. While he remains here, no white labourer will seek employment near him. Hence it is, that in some of the richest counties east of the Blue Ridge, the white population is stationary, and in many others it is retrograde. *Virginia, once the first state in numbers, as she is still in territory, has become the third, and will soon have to descend to the fourth rank. The valuation of the lands of New York, exceeds the estimate of all the lands and slaves in Virginia."—Richmond and Manchester Colonization Society.*

"Experience has taught us, that slaves add nothing to our wealth. Where they exist, labour is not only high, but badly performed; and the communities growing up around us, which are clear of this evil, flourish over us, and by their cheapness of labour, nicer mechanism, and more abundant industry, are making us tributary. The progress of light—the conduct of other nations—and particularly that of our South American neighbours, in liberating their slaves—the growing belief of the disadvantages of slavery, with other causes, contribute to increase the conviction that *slavery is an evil, and that its consequences may one day or other become terrible."—Kentucky Colonization Society.*

"Slavery is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out an industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. This evil admits of no remedy—it is increasing, and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in human flesh—the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them—there is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. *Labour of every species is disreputable, because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost every where declining—and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished.* Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little. If cultivated by free labour, the soil of Virginia is capable of sustaining a dense population, among whom labour would be honourable, and where 'the busy hum of men' would tell that all were happy, and that all were free."—*Speech of T. Marshal, of Fauquier Co. in the legislature of Virginia.*

The advantages of Colonization to our Free Coloured People.

That the free coloured population in this country labour under the most oppressive disadvantages, which their freedom can by no means counterbalance, is too obvious to admit of doubt. I waive all inquiry whether this be right or wrong. I speak of things as they are—not as they might, or ought to be. They are cut off from the most remote chance of amalgamation with the white population, by feelings or prejudices, call them what you will, that are ineradicable. Their situation is more unfavourable than that of many slaves. "With all the burdens, cares and responsibilities of freedom, they have few or none of its substantial benefits. Their associations are, and must be, chiefly with slaves. Their right of suffrage gives them little, if any, political influence, and they are practically, if not theoretically excluded from represen-

tation and weight in our public councils." No merit, no services, no talents can ever elevate many of them to a level with the whites. Occasionally, an exception may arise. A coloured individual, of great talents, merits, and wealth, may emerge from the crowd. Cases of this kind are to the last degree rare. The coloured people are subject to legal disabilities, more or less galling and severe, in almost every state in the Union. Who has not deeply regretted their late harsh expulsion from the state of Ohio, and their being forced to abandon the country of their birth, which had profited by their labours, and to take refuge in a foreign land? Severe regulations have been recently passed in Louisiana, and various other states, to prevent the introduction of free people of colour. Whenever they appear, they are to be banished in sixty days. The strong opposition to the establishment of a negro college in Newhaven, speaks in a language not to be mistaken, the jealousy with which they are regarded. And there is no reason to expect, that the lapse of centuries will make any change in this respect. They will always, unhappily, be regarded as an inferior race. In some of the states, they are actually doomed to idleness, because, however skilful they may be, in any branch of manufactures, white operatives cannot generally be induced to work with them. Such being their situation in this country, surely they ought to long as eagerly for a settlement in the land of their ancestors, as the captive tribes of Israel hungered for a return to the land of Canaan.

What a contrast to their situation in Liberia! There they will be lords of the soil, and have every inducement and every opportunity to cultivate their minds. They will not be borne down by that sense of inferiority, from whose goadings they cannot escape here, and which is enough to depress minds the most highly gifted. According to their respective merits, they may aspire to any of the offices of honour and profit and influence, in the colony. The bar, and the bench, and the medical profession, will be open to them, from which they are debarred here by an impassible barrier.

It is but fair and impartial to give the views of a portion of the coloured people, in regard to the plan of colonization. It remains for the reader to decide on their correctness, when he has duly weighed the contents of letter VIII.

The following resolutions were passed by a meeting of the people of colour in New Bedford, January 22, 1832.

"*Resolved*, That in whatever light we view the Colonization Society, we discover nothing in it but terror, prejudice and oppression; that the warm and beneficent hand of philanthrophy is not apparent in the system; but the influence of the Society on public opinion is more prejudicial to the interest and welfare of the people of colour in the United States, than slavery itself.

"*Resolved*, That the Society, to effect its purpose, the removal of the free people of colour (not the slaves) through its agents, teaches the public to believe that it is patriotic and benevolent to withhold from us knowledge and the means of acquiring subsistence, and to look upon us as unnatural and illegal residents in this country; and thus by force of prejudice, if not by law, endeavour to compel us to embark for Africa, and that, too, apparently by our own free will and consent."

LETTER X.

Of Africa before the Irruptions of the Barbarians.—Effects of the Colonization on the slave trade.—Slight sketch of that nefarious traffic.

Dear Sir,

Those who argue, from the present state of the coloured population of this country, against the prospect of a high degree of civilization in Africa, reason from very imperfect data. Here the coloured people have laboured, and still labour, under almost every possible disadvantage. In most of the southern states, slaves are debarred from the attainment of the slightest rudiments of knowledge. And even in states free from slavery, the coloured people have little opportunity of cultivation. Condemned by poverty, almost universally, to the lowest occupations, they have neither time nor means to improve themselves. But they will not suffer much, on a fair comparison with whites of the same grade. The best criterion, however, by which to judge, is the progress they have made in Liberia, where they escape the degradation to which they are exposed here. Of their improvement in morals, and manners, and habits, the testimony of Captains Sherman, Kennedy, Nicholson, and Abels, from which I have made large quotations in the preceding pages, precludes all doubt. It may be confidently stated, that none of the American colonies made greater advances in the same space of time than they have done in the eight years that have elapsed since the establishment of order and good government in 1824. The contrast between the Colonists at Liberia and the people of the United States, is not so great as between the inhabitants of Great Britain at present, and those in olden times, when the latter painted their bodies, had no chimnies to their houses, lay upon straw on the ground, covered themselves with skins fastened with skewers, and were tenants in common with the pigs which partook of the hospitality of their houses.

Africa, though brutalized by wars, the invasions of barbarians, and the most grinding despotism, was once on as proud an eminence in point of civilization as any part of Europe. Carthage contended for the supremacy with Rome for one hundred and twenty years—and, but for domestic factions, the bane of republics, would probably have subjugated Italy. The destruction of the Carthaginian annals by the Romans renders it impossible to enumerate any of her great men, except her warriors. Rome never produced a greater general than Hannibal. Some of his relations were men of great talents in the same department. Jugurtha was superior to most of the Romans who were sent against him. Terence, the dramatist, was an African.

Christianity and civilization were early introduced into Africa. There were several provincial councils held there. At one of them, held in Carthage, in 397, the canon of the Roman Catholic

Bible was settled. Another was held in the same place in 410—and two others at Milevi. In the fifth century, the number of Catholic Bishops in Africa, was four hundred. Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, among the great lights of Christianity in their day, were Africans. And it is not too much to expect that future Hannibals and Terences and Cyprians and Augustines will arise to defend and illuminate that now benighted country. Should such a result take place, the merit will in a great degree belong to the illustrious founders of the Colonization Society.

Among the striking advantages attending the Colony at Liberia, is the check it has given to the slave trade already, and the probable suppression, ultimately, of that nefarious traffic on a large portion of the western coast of Africa by the gradual extension of the settlements. Before the establishment of the settlements at Liberia, there were several slave factories within a few miles of Monrovia, all of which have been completely broken up. Four or five years since, there was not a single factory from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, a distance of 100 miles; and 120 miles, from Cape Mount, to Trade Town, the whole of the coast of Liberia. More recently, a factory has been established at Cape Mount, forty-five miles from Monrovia, where the trade is carried on briskly. But it is probable, as soon as the Colony gains more strength, that this nest of pirates, kidnappers and traders in human flesh and human suffering, will be extirpated.

The African chiefs, in the neighborhood of Liberia, have in general voluntarily abandoned the traffic, finding they can procure what articles they want, of European, American, and West India goods, by the sale of their own domestic productions. Some of them have put themselves under the protection of the colony.

To duly appreciate the advantages of this result, it is only necessary to reflect for a moment on the horrors of this nefarious traffic; and although it has been presented times without number, to the execration of mankind, I may be permited to take a bird's eye view of it. The number of slaves kidnapped in 1824, was 120,000. And the number imported into the single port of Rio for nine years, 1820—8, was 261,964.

In 1820, 15,020	In 1823, 20,349	In 1826, 33,999
1821, 24,134	1824, 39,503	1827, 29,787
1822, 27,363	1825, 26,254	1828, 43,555

Total.....261,964

Walsh's notices of Brazil, vol. 2. p. 178.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the chief maritime powers of Europe, and those of the United States, to suppress this traffic, there have been, from the two towns, Muney and Pangas, 352 cargoe of slaves taken, in little more than a year.

It has been estimated that one third, but say one fifth, perish in the voyage; and that an equal number die after their landing, of diseases contracted on the voyage, or of grief for their forlorn situation!

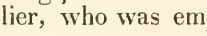
To heighten the enormity of this "sin crying to heaven for vengeance," it is ascertained, that in cases of scarcity of provision, the slaves are often remorselessly thrown overboard. On board a vessel some time since, thirty nine negroes became blind, and twelve had lost an eye. They were thrown into the fathomless ocean. A single vessel, the Protector, took on board at Mozambique 807 slaves, of whom 339 died on the voyage.

The Maria Primeira, a Portugese ship, took on board upwards of 500 slaves. This number was reduced to 403 in consequence of extreme crowding, before she was captured, and brought into Sierra Leone. Nearly 100 more died soon afterwards, from diseases contracted on board.—(*Transactions of the London African Association.*)

The following heart-rending picture of the slave trade has been drawn by Sir George Collier, who was employed on the coast of Africa, to suppress it.

"Such is the merciless treatment of the slaves, that no fancy can picture the horrors of the voyage. Crowded together so as not to have the power to move—linked one to the other by the leg—never unfettered while life remains, or till the iron shall have fretted the flesh almost to the bone—forced under a deck, as I have seen them, *not thirty inches in height*—breathing an atmosphere the most putrid and pestilential possible—with little food and less water—subject to the most severe punishment, at the caprice or fancy of the brute who may command the vessel—it is to me a matter of extreme wonder that any of these miserable wretches live the voyage through. Many of them, indeed, perish on the passage, and those of them who remain to meet the shore, present a picture of wretchedness language cannot express."

April 26, 1832. Yours, &c. M. C.



Letter, from the Hon. James Madison, to the Secretary of the Society, dated Montpelier, December 29, 1831.

Dear Sir: I received, in due time, your letter of the 21st ult. and with due sensibility to the subject of it. Such, however, has been the effect of a painful rheumatism on my general condition, as well in disqualifying my fingers for the use of the pen, that I could not do justice "to the principles and measures of the Colonization Society in all the great and various relations they sustain to our own country and to Africa," if my views of them could have the value which your partiality supposes. I may observe in brief, that the Society had always my good wishes, though with hopes of its success less sanguine than were entertained by others, found to have been the better judges; and, that I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties afforded by the earlier and greater ones already overcome. Many circumstances at the present moment seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society, and cherishing the hope that *the time will come, when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace and the general satisfaction*: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example. I never considered the main difficulty of the great work as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in an inadequacy of asylums for such a growing mass of population, and in the great expense of removing it to its new home. The spirit of private manumission as the laws may permit, and the exiles may consent, is increasing and will increase; and there are sufficient indications that the public authorities in slave-holding States are looking forward to interpositions in different forms that must have a powerful effect. With respect to the new abode for the emigrants, all agree that the choice made by the Society is rendered peculiarly appropriate by considerations which need not be repeated, and if other situations should not be found eligible receptacles for a portionof them, the prospects in Africa seem to be expanding in a highly encouraging degree.

"In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the Nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slave-holding States have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it.

"Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, are not equally so; it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefited, are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

"I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the Constitution.

"Sincerely wishing an increasing success to the labours of the Society, I pray you to be assured of my esteem, and to accept my friendly salutations."

Rev. R. R. Gurley.

JAMES MADISON.

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, dated Richmond, December 14, 1831.

"The great object of the Society, I presume, is to obtain pecuniary aids. Application will undoubtedly be made, I hope successfully, to the several State Legislatures, by the societies formed within them respectively. It is extremely desirable that they should pass permanent laws on the subject: and the excitement produced by the late insurrection makes this a favourable moment for the friends of the Colony to press for such acts. It would be also desirable, if such a direction could be given to State Legislation as might have some tendency to incline the people of colour to migrate. This, however, is a subject of much delicacy. Whatever may be the success of our endeavours to obtain acts for permanent aids, I have no doubt that our applications for immediate contributions will receive attention. It is possible, though not probable, that more people of colour may be disposed to migrate than can be provided for, with the funds the Society may be enabled to command. Under this impression I suggested, some years past, to one or two of the Board of Managers, to allow a small additional bounty in lands to those who would pay their own passage in whole or in part. The suggestion, however, was not approved.

"It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the General Government. *Some of our cruizers stationed on the coast of Africa would, at the same time, interrupt the slave trade—a horrid traffic, detested by all good men, and would protect the vessels and commerce of the Colony from pirates who infest those seas.* The power of the government to afford this aid is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that can be devised.

"The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it; and its application would be, perhaps, less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South than the application of money drawn from the treasury and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the government under the idea of absolute ownership."